

Forty-first General Assembly
56th Plenary Meeting
PM SUMMARY

GA/7403
4 November 1986

ASSEMBLY HEARS 30 SPEAKERS IN CONTINUING DEBATE ON AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan and Pakistan Exercise Right of Reply

Debate on the situation relating to Afghanistan continued this afternoon in the General Assembly, with 30 more statements made.

Speakers in the debate were the representatives of Turkey, United Kingdom (on behalf of the 12 members of the European Community), Zaire, Egypt, Austria, Japan, Soviet Union, Nepal, China, Ukraine, United States, Bulgaria, Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Chile, Tunisia, Somalia, Norway, Viet Nam, Democratic Kampuchea, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Senegal, New Zealand, Poland, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic and Cuba.

The representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan spoke in exercise of the right to reply.

At its next meeting, at 10 a.m tomorrow, 5 November, the Assembly is expected to hear further statements in debate by the Netherlands, Italy, India, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Thailand, Sweden, Bangladesh, Comoros, Saint Lucia, Nigeria and Singapore. At that meeting, the Assembly expects to conclude debate on the situation in Afghanistan and take action on a 46-power draft resolution (document A/41/L.12) by which it would call for the withdrawal of foreign troops and for the achievement of a negotiated political solution.

(A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING APPEARS IN TAKES 1-23 OF THIS RELEASE)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 1

The General Assembly meets this afternoon to continue its debate on the situation relating to Afghanistan which began this morning.

The Assembly President, HUMAYUN RASHEED CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh), called the meeting to order at 3:11 p.m.

This afternoon's first speaker, KORKMAZ HAKTANIR (Turkey), said the international community had from the outset recognized that the situation in Afghanistan had serious implications for both regional and international peace and security. Turkey was once again co-sponsoring the draft resolution before the Assembly. The General Assembly resolutions had aspired to further a just political solution in full accord with the inalienable rights of the people of Afghanistan, including millions of Afghan refugees, to determine their own way of life and political system without external interference and coercion. The great loss of life in Afghanistan, the displacement of its population and the devastation caused were staggering.

During the past year, as the proximity talks had developed and the substantive elements of a political solution had taken shape, the situation in Afghanistan had unfortunately not improved. On the contrary, more extreme military measures had been taken. Such indiscriminate warfare could not be justified on any ground, he stated. The Afghan people had shown they would never accept alien domination. He noted with particular concern the escalation in the violation of Pakistan's airspace and territory from the Afghanistan side, causing considerable loss of life and damage to property. Pakistan had wisely resisted provocation.

Pakistan and Iran, he went on, continued to face the humanitarian problem of five million Afghan refugees who had been driven from their country during the past seven years. That alarming figure represented one third of the population of Afghanistan. It was clear, he said, that the resolution of this grave humanitarian problem was firmly tied to the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan.

The elements of a comprehensive political settlement had long been identified and developed through the laudable efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, he said. In a determined and patient manner, Pakistan had sought an equitable political settlement to the question. What was required now was the prompt finalization of a comprehensive settlement and its effective implementation.

(END OF TAKE 1)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 2

Speaking on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community, TIMOTHY EGGAR (United Kingdom) said the 1979 military intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan remained one of the most serious violations of the Charter and was a living proof of the determination of the Soviet Union to pursue its own ends by the massive and sustained use of military power.

The occupation of Afghanistan continued despite the rejection on many occasions by an overwhelming majority of the Assembly of the attempt to impose on the people of that country a regime set up and kept in power by force.

The Soviet Union has made much of its withdrawal of six regiments in October, but that move would have minimal military significance. The Afghan people were still left with an occupying army of over 110,000 Soviet troops. The bombing of Pakistani territory had continued to increase, constituting a clear threat to peace and stability in the region as a whole.

The human misery now being endured in Afghanistan was enormous. Villages, rural infrastructure and crops had been destroyed. Hundreds of thousands had been displaced and millions had fled abroad. However, there was no sign of any weakening of resolve on the part of the Afghan people, he said. The alliance of resistance parties formed last year had been able to inform the international community of what was taking place inside Afghanistan. The second report by the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, presented in February, spoke of gross violations of human rights, including massacres and indiscriminate bombing. The Twelve were appalled by the information provided.

Of the over four million Afghan refugees, three quarters were currently in Pakistan, representing the greatest concentration of refugees in the world. The refugees wanted to go home, he said, and the Twelve urged the Soviet Union to respect the will of the Assembly and create the conditions which would allow them to do so in peace and safety. Above all, that necessitated the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan.

The Twelve favoured any proposals put forward for a political solution to the problems of Afghanistan to the extent that they were based on the principles of United Nations resolutions. They would continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative. "An agreed timetable for the rapid withdrawal of all Soviet troops is of crucial importance", he stated. As long as there was no progress in that area, the Soviet Union would not have made the necessary contribution which will allow the Secretary-General's efforts to succeed. The Twelve looked to the Soviet Union to demonstrate its commitment to international peace and security by complying with the successive United Nations resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 3

BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) said that his country, as a co-sponsor of the draft resolution before the Assembly, had welcomed the progress made on the four instruments comprising the settlement between Afghanistan and Pakistan. He added that he was encouraged by the Soviet announcement of the repatriation of six regiments.

He expressed the hope that progress would continue and that an agreement would be reached, allowing the Afghan people to freely choose their own economic and social system. The entire international community should support the efforts of the Secretary-General in his search for a peaceful settlement.

His delegation was convinced that the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan, as well as its non-aligned status, was essential for a peaceful solution of the problem. He hoped the draft resolution would receive the unanimous support of all Member States.

ABDEL HALIM BADAWI (Egypt) called for compliance with General Assembly resolutions on the situation relating to Afghanistan. Efforts must be intensified, in an optimistic atmosphere, to achieve a peaceful settlement, he said. He recalled that agreement had been reached in Geneva on a large number of complex issues. The report of the Secretary-General showed that he and his Personal Representative had spared no effort in the search for a just and durable solution.

Political will was of the essence, and he hoped that such will would be forthcoming in the following months. Egypt had been among the first States to support the Afghan people in their struggle, he stated. He hoped that forthcoming negotiations would be successful so that the suffering of the Afghan people would finally end. The efforts of Pakistan in the search for a peaceful solution were to be commended, he said. In conclusion, he appealed for support to help the Afghan refugees.

KARL FISCHER (Austria) said that the occupation of Afghanistan defied basic principles of the United Nations Charter, such as the non-use of force; respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and the right of self-determination.

A political solution, he went on, would contribute to the restoration of regional stability and improve the overall climate of international relations. Above all, it would ease "the horrible plight and misery of the Afghan refugees and civilian population which have suffered already far too long", he stated. However, there was still a wide gap on the perhaps most important outstanding question -- the time-frame and modalities for the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Austria appealed to all those concerned to redouble their efforts and to demonstrate the necessary political will in order to finalize the settlement, he concluded.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 4

KIYOAKI KIKUCHI (Japan) said the Soviet Union had been waging a cruel war against the people of Afghanistan for almost seven years now. Its military aggression and political occupation were being fiercely resisted by the Afghan people and had won almost universal condemnation of the international community. Nevertheless, the Soviet stranglehold on its small neighbour remained as firm as ever. While there had been the reported withdrawal of six regiments of Soviet troops, it should be noted that three of those regiments comprised non-essential personnel. Moreover, there were indications that reinforcements had been sent in before the other three regiments had been withdrawn.

It was imperative that Member States continue to focus attention on the tragic situation in Afghanistan, he said. The situation must not be accepted as a fait accompli. Member States must continue to express their outrage, lest the Soviet Union underestimate international opposition to its aggression. The Assembly must stress the need for the Afghan people to determine their own political, economic and social system free from outside coercion. The Assembly's debates served to encourage Pakistan to persevere in its efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the situation. The Assembly's deliberations would also help in sending a clear message to the Soviet people that the military intervention in Afghanistan was costly in terms of countless lives lost in the fighting and of the precious resources used up.

There had been some promising developments towards a political settlement on the diplomatic level, he said, owing in large part to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative. He cautioned that the environment in which the Secretary-General's efforts were being pursued was extremely fragile and could easily end in deadlock. While those efforts were being pursued, the international community must maintain pressure on the Soviet Union to end its illegal occupation.

Afghan refugees in Pakistan represented the largest concentration of refugees in the world, he said. That situation not only imposed an enormous burden on Pakistan but was also a gravely destabilizing element in the region. Japan had actively extended co-operation to Afghan refugees relief activities in Pakistan and, since last year, in Iran.

The withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan was an "absolute prerequisite" to a political settlement of the problem, he stated. Japan strongly supported the draft resolution before the Assembly and hoped it would be adopted by an even greater majority.

(END OF TAKE 4)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 5

ALEKSANDR BELONOGOV (Soviet Union) said the Assembly's discussion of the "so-called Afghan problem" was an attempt to determine what state and social system Afghanistan was supposed to have and to justify interference in the affairs of that country and so destroy the Afghan revolution. The Soviet Union therefore opposed the inclusion of the question of Afghanistan in the Assembly's agenda and would vote against the present draft resolution.

That resolution, he said, which was submitted year after year, was designed to camouflage the undeclared war unleashed against Afghanistan and to divert the attention of the United Nations from other dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world as well as State-sponsored terrorism against independent and newly free States. The other aim was to cast a shadow on the policy of the Soviet Union, which provided assistance to Afghanistan at the request of its legitimate Government, thereby attempting to belittle the importance of constructive steps taken by the Soviet Union to solve some of the central issues of our time.

The resolution was being used by the United States as the justification of its interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. According to The Washington Post he said United States military "aid" to the Afghan counter-revolution would amount to \$500 million in 1986.

The American press reported that the CIA's operation against Afghanistan represented its biggest campaign since the Viet Nam War, he stated. The declarations by the advocates of "freedom" for the Afghan people about their "concern" over human rights in Afghanistan did not square with reports of terrorist acts committed in Kabul and other Afghan cities. The link between those who carried out these terrorist acts and their foreign patrons had been established quite clearly.

He went on to say that Pakistan had long ago become the main bridgehead for the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Over 120 training centres for Afghan counter-revolutionaries had been established in Afghanistan where American instructors taught killing and sabotage techniques. Pakistan had received \$3.2 billion from the United States in the past four years in the form of military-economic aid and expected another \$4.2 billion in the next four years. Only a renunciation of aggression against Afghanistan could have a positive effect on Soviet-Pakistani relations, he said. Unfortunately, a difficult situation also existed in other sectors of Afghanistan's borders.

The mass media of some Western and reactionary States sought to deceive international public opinion and the Afghans themselves. In some capitals, pompous receptions were accorded to the ringleaders of the Afghan counter-revolution in an attempt to portray them as an alternative to the popular government of Afghanistan, he stated.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 6

Continuing, Mr. BELONOGOV (Soviet Union) said telling blows had been dealt to the bandits and in a number of provinces their positions had been weakened. Afghanistan's borders were being closed to infiltration from outside and the social and political base of the Afghan revolution was being expanded.

As a result of the Afghan Government's call for national reconciliation, a group of non-party figures had been admitted into the Government and the revolutionary council had been expanded to include some persons who, in the beginning went to war against the people's rule but then decided to side with the revolution. In the preceding four months alone, three thousand people had laid down their arms.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan considered the Geneva process of political settlement -- conducted through the personal representative of the Secretary-General, to be one of the main channels for solving the Afghan question. Tangible progress had been achieved in those negotiations.

He noted that the Secretary-General's report stated that the latest developments, including the Vladivostok statement by Mikhail S. Gorbachev about the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan, should encourage all the Governments concerned to pursue efforts towards a political settlement with renewed vigour.

Pakistan and the United States should, in turn, demonstrate common sense and realistic approach and evince their sincerity and interest in a settlement, he stated. If Iran were to join in the negotiations, it would be received very benevolently.

In spite of recognized progress in the process of political settlement, the draft resolution on Afghanistan continued to be biased and lopsided and did not reflect positive developments, he said.

Those who hampered a settlement, who armed and directed the counter-revolution against Afghanistan should be strongly condemned.

JAI PRATAP RANA (Nepal) said that the situation in Afghanistan continued to deteriorate; there had been hundreds of thousands of deaths and displacements of people too proud and too patriotic to accept alien direction and domination.

While there were several striking and disturbing parallels between the developments in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, his delegation viewed the Afghan situation with greater alarm, not only because of the obvious factor of proximity but also because the interventionist State in Afghanistan was a super Power, he said. "The fact that as a permanent Member of the Security Council, the Soviet Union bears special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, renders the situation that much more unacceptable, he stated.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 7

JAI PRATAP RANA (Nepal) said further that the present situation in Afghanistan ran counter to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially the right of all States -- including small ones on the periphery of larger and stronger neighbours -- to live in peace and freedom.

Nepal, he went on, would support any initiative for a political solution to the Afghan problem that resulted in the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan; respected the rights of all Afghan people to freely determine their destiny without outside interference or coercion; respected the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; and created conditions conducive for the voluntary return of all Afghan refugees in safety and honour.

Nepal had taken note of the recent repatriation of six Soviet regiments. He hoped that would lead to a total withdrawal before too long. He urged that the draft co-sponsored by Nepal be adopted by an overwhelming majority.

LI LUYE (China) said the military occupation of Afghanistan by foreign aggressor troops had grossly trampled on the United Nations Charter and international norms of conduct. The foreign occupation authorities, while procrastinating on troop withdrawal, had intensified their repression against the Afghan people, forcing several million to leave their homeland and live as refugees in Pakistan and Iran. At the same time, the Kabul regime, with the backing of a foreign Power, had stepped up its intrusions into Pakistan's territory and air space, posing a serious threat to the peace and stability of the region.

The recent announcement by Soviet authorities of the withdrawal of six regiments from Afghanistan was insignificant compared with the overall force of more than 100,000. At such a pace, no-one knew how many years it would take to complete the total withdrawal. The so-called support for the "democratic revolution" and "democratic process" in Afghanistan was nothing but a subterfuge to cover up hegemonism, he said. If the military occupation of one country by another was accepted as "legitimate", would not there be total chaos in the world?

The Afghan issue had lingered for a long time; the time had come to settle it, he said. The Afghans were an indomitable people, and any attempt to subjugate them was doomed to failure, he said. If the Soviet Union really wanted a political settlement, it should comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly, work out a reasonable time-table for its troop withdrawal and pull out without further delay.

China supported Pakistan in its untiring efforts to seek a just settlement of the Afghan question, he said, and appreciated and admired the humanitarianism shown by Pakistan, Iran and other countries which provided relief to the Afghan refugees. His delegation fully endorsed the draft resolution and called on other Members to support it.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY --- TAKE 8

GUENNADI I. OUDOVENKO (Ukraine) said nothing could authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of Member States. Throughout the eight years since the April Revolution, there had been a movement towards social justice, democracy and progress in all spheres of Afghan life. The political situation had stabilized and conditions favourable to dialogue and national reconciliation had emerged. The Government enjoyed the support of a large majority of Afghans as proved by the recent elections.


It was no secret that the process of revolution had not been smooth. It had encountered certain difficulties, which was not surprising in a society with age-old traditions, such as that of Afghanistan. That situation had been taken advantage of by imperialist forces, who had begun an undeclared war against Afghanistan. Those forces had encouraged the use of cruel and bloody terror against the civilian population.

The Afghan Government had done everything within its power to settle the problem by political means. Such a settlement, he went on, should be achieved through negotiations between the parties concerned. For the process to move forward, a responsible attitude would have to be shown by those circles in the West whose fanaticism had given rise to the situation in the first place.

He regretted that Pakistan continued to demur from direct and constructive dialogue in the Geneva talks. Pakistan's deeds fell far short of declared good intentions, he stated. The withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan was further evidence of the desire of the Soviet and Afghan Governments to reach a speedy solution to the situation. He called on the other side to respond by showing good will.

Any attempt to return Afghanistan to the "dark past" was doomed to failure. It was equally fruitless for the United Nations to continue to consider the so-called Afghanistan question, he concluded.

HERBERT S. OKUN (United States) began by stating that "a whole nation is dying". Even as the Assembly met, innocent Afghan men, women and children were being indiscriminately slaughtered. The Assembly had an abundance of well-documented material which described the consequences of seven years of brutal Soviet onslaught. The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Afghanistan had concluded that "continuation of the military solution will ... lead inevitably to a situation approaching genocide". It was unconscionable, he went on, that in today's world a situation existed that might justify being so characterized.



(END OF TAKE 8)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 9

HERBERT S. OKUN (United States) went on: "We are all aware of the number and scope of violations of international humanitarian law being carried out in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union or its puppets." They included the 1949 Geneva Conventions and customary international law designed to protect civilians which proscribe murder and mutilation and the large-scale use of anti-personnel weapons; the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention which prohibit the use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gasses; article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which prohibited torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; and the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.

It was inconceivable that in the Assembly were represented Governments that continued to remain unmoved by the tragedy of Afghanistan -- so unmoved that they refused to vote in favour of a resolution that merely asked that the Afghan people be permitted to determine their own fate in peace and dignity. "Abstention on an issue affecting the survival of an entire people is inexcusable", he said.

The situation in Afghanistan, if permitted to continue unchecked, could result in the elimination of "a whole national or ethnic group". The very fabric of Afghanistan's traditional society was being rent under force of arms. Village life had been shattered; families separated, women widowed and children orphaned. The world's largest refugee population had been created, and as if that were not enough, the regime had recently announced plans to relocate 30,000 people from areas near the Pakistani border to sparsely populated areas in western Afghanistan. Such a policy involved a massive violation of human rights and indicated the lengths to which the Soviet Union would go to deny popular support to the Afghan resistance.

Apparently realizing that a national liberation movement could not be conquered by conventional military tactics and weaponry, the Soviet Union had conceived and begun to implement a more subtle three-pronged strategy composed of military, intelligence and political measures so as to be able to consolidate its power in Afghanistan with a minimum of international outcry. What was being created was a fighting force that was more appropriate to counter-insurgency.

The redefined military effort had been accomplished by a campaign to win hearts, minds and pocket-books led by the former chief of the Afghan secret police, Najibullah. However, the Soviet Union was today no closer to consolidating its control than it was in December 1979. Despite all its efforts, the Soviet Union could not break the will of a people united in a national liberation struggle. An old Afghan saying went: "The mujahid waited 100 years for his revenge and then cursed himself for his impatience." The Afghan people would never surrender. Today, the resistance was co-operating more closely together than ever before -- joining forces, co-ordinating attacks and sharing intelligence and battle techniques. Regular

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rocketing of Kabul, including the "spectacular" ammunition dump explosion on 26 August, testified to mujahidin's ability to penetrate even the most fortified of Soviet security rings.

Many in the world community of nations were being lulled into inaction by Soviet hints of flexibility. The militarily insignificant withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan was intended to obscure the persistent refusal to provide a time-table for comprehensive withdrawal. Convincing evidence indicated that equipment and troops had been introduced into Afghanistan for the sole purpose of publicly withdrawing them. If the Soviet Union wanted to demonstrate its interest in a political settlement, it need only present a short time-table at Geneva for a complete troop withdrawal. That was the missing element in the search for an end to seven years of war and destruction.

The United States Government supported the efforts of the Secretary-General and his representative for a just and durable settlement. It was willing to play an appropriate guarantor's role with respect to a comprehensive and balanced settlement. Three of the four basic documents which would comprise a comprehensive settlement have been largely completed. But on the fourth instrument, the Soviet Union had persisted in its refusal to provide a realistic time-table for the complete withdrawal of all its troops. "The time has come for deeds, not words. The Soviet Union is counting on outlasting the Afghans and those who support their fight for freedom. By prolonging the war and enshrouding it in hints and meaningless gestures, they are hoping and waiting for the world's attention-span to slip, for our outrage to wane. We cannot permit this to happen", he said in conclusion.

(END OF TAKE 9)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 10

BORIS TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) said the discussion of the question before the Assembly did nothing to improve the situation in Afghanistan and did not contribute to a political settlement. On the contrary, it heightened tension in the area. The questions before the Assembly, he went on, did not concern peace and security but was an attempt to justify the undeclared war against Afghanistan that was being supported by imperialist and reactionary forces. That undeclared war was what should be discussed since it threatened international peace and security.

He said Afghanistan had been successful in bringing about democratic and anti-feudal changes. It had developed an increasingly solid economic base and had achieved substantial progress in industrial production and agrarian reform. The process was irreversible and it would be impossible to force the people of Afghanistan to depart from the path it had chosen. Counter-revolutionary forces, however, under the instruction of foreign advisors, were trying to sabotage the Government through armed intervention and a massive propaganda and disinformation campaign, he added.

The Afghanistan Government had for years undertaken efforts to achieve a political settlement of the conflict, he went on. The mediation of the Secretary-General's Special Representative was an expression of the positive role of the Organization in the search for the reestablishment of peace and security in the region.

The progress recently obtained in the negotiations gave cause for optimism. The ground had been laid for direct dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan. That would accelerate a political settlement and would be in the interest of the Afghan people. The Soviet decision to withdraw six regiments of its military contingent from Afghanistan would speed up the political settlement of the problem and push forward the negotiations in Geneva. That measure was not an act of propaganda as some countries had tried to present it. Rather it was a practical gesture on the part of the Soviet Government. He hoped the Soviet move would have a positive response.

The draft resolution, he said, gave a distorted picture of the facts. The text in no way met the generally accepted norms of international law and was contrary to the establishment of peace and security in the region.

RICHARD WOOLCOTT (Australia) said the continuing conflict in Afghanistan and the persistent presence of Soviet troops in that unfortunate country caused concern to his Government. Successive sessions of the Assembly had listened to unconvincing rationalizations by the Soviet Union of its direct military intervention in the affairs of a smaller neighbour. Successive sessions had called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, and had rejected the claim that Soviet troops had entered Afghanistan at the invitation of the Afghan Government.

By refusing to implement Assembly resolutions on the matter, the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the Security Council, was failing in its duty to maintain international peace and security. While quick to criticize others for alleged failures to observe Assembly resolutions, it refused to recognize the Assembly's competence in the particular case, he said.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 11

Continuing, Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia), said the Soviet Union had attacked and bombed the civilian population and has used methods which had provoked widespread condemnation. While it remained in Afghanistan, other small, developing, non-aligned countries could hardly feel secure about their own immunity from external intervention. The conflict had also aggravated mistrust between the Soviet Union and the United States. Pakistan and Iran had had to endure the burden of massive numbers of refugees. Australia, for its part, would continue to provide humanitarian aid to the refugees.

The Soviet Union and all the parties concerned must accept a political solution in Afghanistan. It was in the interests of all parties that they move towards a negotiated settlement in the process initiated by the Secretary-General.

He would be happy to see the removal of the item on Afghanistan from the Assembly's agenda. Australia had welcomed the announcement in July of the Soviet intention to withdraw six regiments, on the condition that that represented a genuine step towards a solution of the problem in Afghanistan. The international community would continue to monitor closely actions in Afghanistan as an indication of Soviet intentions. In the meantime, there could be no drawing back from the Assembly's responsibilities to respond to a violation of basic Charter principles. It must reiterate the Soviet Union's accountability to the international community for its actions.

AWANG AHMAD YUSSOF (Brunei Darussalam) reiterated his delegation's concern and indignation over the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan.

Since the war broke out in 1979, approximately one-third of the 16 million Afghan people had left the country in search of safety and shelter in Pakistan and Iran. Pakistan had to meet nearly 55 per cent of the needed annual expenditure of over \$400 million on humanitarian assistance for those refugees.

Noting the efforts to settle the problem through the United Nations system and other international organizations, he expressed hope that substantial discussion of the issue would also take place at meetings between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union. He regretted that the diplomatic process had been stalled since December 1985, when the Kabul side demanded to enter into direct negotiation with Pakistan before discussing the fourth instrument concerning the time-frame for withdrawal of foreign troops, without agreement of the fourth instrument, no withdrawal could take place. He hoped that all parties concerned, particularly the Kabul regime and its allies would reconsider and renew their commitments so that an early settlement could take place.

His Government endorsed the draft resolution before the Assembly. The relevant United Nations resolutions which call for immediate withdrawal of foreign troops must be implemented without delay.

(END OF TAKE 11)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 12

ABDUL KADIR SHEIKH FADZIR, Deputy Foreign Minister of Malaysia, said nothing had really changed, as the seven-year occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet troops continued. In spite of the strong and repeated international pronouncement on the imperatives for peace, the Soviet/Kabul forces had continuously committed military aggression against the Afghan people in their attempt to liquidate the Afghan resistance. The scope of the Soviet/Kabul military campaign against the Afghan people had been considerably widened to encompass not only the massive use of fire power but also the economic, psychological and religious spheres. He deplored that trend which created a yawning credibility gap with the peace efforts undertaken by the United Nations.

According to the report of the Secretary-General, the Government of Pakistan and Kabul, he said, were studying a revised proposal as submitted by Diego Cordovez, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Malaysia hoped that the Soviet Union and Kabul would consider the United Nations proposal constructively to lend credence to their desire for a political settlement and not use it as a tactical ploy. The finalization of the three earlier instruments last year had been largely due to Pakistan's flexibility, and there seemed to have been a delaying tactic -- an impasse -- when the Kabul side had sought to change the format of the negotiations for the negotiations on the fourth instrument. Also, most important, the Kabul side had not reciprocated Pakistan's earlier flexibility and had remained unresponsive on the vital question of the time-frame for withdrawal.

He said that in view of Kabul's extremely difficult attitude during the past negotiations and the ground situation which continued to exact a heavy toll on the Afghan people, the announcement by General Secretary Gorbachev on 28 July in Vladivostok to withdraw six regiments from Afghanistan awaited credibility according to reports. The bulk of the withdrawal involved anti-aircraft regiments of the air-defence system which did not reflect any significant change of the Soviet dominant position, as the Afghan freedom fighters had no air force.

The fundamental point, he continued, had always been the withdrawal of foreign troops, that is, Soviet troops from Afghanistan. That was precisely the object of the intensive and tactful efforts by the Secretary-General's Special Representative to which Pakistan had responded constructively and admirably. It would be absurd for the Soviet Union to expect the mujahidin to de-escalate their resistance when their cause had been created solely due to the unlawful Soviet troop presence.

Malaysia was again proud to be associated with 45 other countries in co-sponsoring the draft resolution which was based on a number of important points, he said.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 13

Continuing, Mr. FADZIR, Deputy Foreign Minister of Malaysia, said the conflict in Afghanistan involved sacred principles relating to national independence, territorial integrity and self-determination which must be maintained for the safety and security of all. Secondly, the resolution signified the political commitment to the Afghan freedom fighters to encourage them to continue with their cause. Thirdly, it would help to reinforce the increasing support for peace and national reconciliation and thereby sustain the efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representative. His delegation urged the Assembly to give the draft resolution the widest possible support.

The eminent position of the Soviet Union as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council should be matched by positive action to strengthen world peace and safeguard the norms of international relations.

In view of the crucial juncture that the proximity talks had now reached, he supported the good offices of the Secretary-General. He urged the Kabul side to look entirely within their own circle and to the long suffering of the Afghan people in order that the necessary political will would be generated. "We hope that with greater understanding on the part of Kabul we would be able to see the signing of all the four instruments to usher in an era of peace for Afghanistan again", he stated in conclusion.

PEDRO DAZA (Chile) said that the Soviet Union had refused to comply with United Nations resolutions seeking peace, justice and respect for the principle of non-intervention and the non-use of force in international relations.

He expressed his Government's unqualified solidarity with the Afghan people and its hope that they would achieve their objectives in the near future. He said that in analysing the case of Afghanistan, the international community experienced the nightmare of confirming that Stalinism was still alive. He said that Chile had co-sponsored the draft resolution, but observed that it had some defects, as it did not denounce or condemn the Soviet Union.

The Assembly did not balk at condemning other States for lesser offences, he said. Were the invaders of Afghanistan from outer space? They were not mentioned expressly in the resolution. He hoped that the Afghan people would be able to return to their country free to choose the Government they wished. He expressed support for the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative and hoped their efforts would bring peace to the region.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 14

Mr. DAZA (Chile) then said the solution to the problem necessitated the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It was hypocrisy that a great Power that talked about the implementation of Assembly resolutions did not carry them out in this case. It was Soviet hypocrisy to talk about peace while waging war in Afghanistan. It was hypocrisy that a great Power, which pretended to give lectures on the right to self-determination, subjected the people of Afghanistan to its rule.

Soviet leaders had argued that their troops had entered Afghanistan to save that country from an external threat and that they would stay until that threat was removed. The Soviet Union was posing a metaphysical problem by conditioning a future action on a situation that never existed. The Soviet removal of six regiments illustrated the invading Power's lack of real interest in the withdrawal of its troops.

NEJIB BOUZIRI (Tunisia) said the current debate demonstrated the lack of progress in achieving a just settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. The rules of international law were incompatible with the use of force and armed intervention. Such actions were at the core of the Afghanistan problem.

Like the conflict in the Persian Gulf, the confrontation in Afghanistan had intensified, he stated. The inhumanity of that conflict was appalling and brought to mind other unjustified armed interventions. Tunisia was profoundly disturbed by the continued violation of international law which the military intervention in Afghanistan represented. Such unwarranted actions fomented insecurity, particularly among smaller States and threatened international detente.

His delegation noted the agreement that had emerged on a number of substantial issues in the Afghan conflict through the Secretary-General's mediation process. If the self-determination, territorial integrity and development of Afghanistan were to be guaranteed, then the remaining differences had to be bridged. As a friend of the Soviet Union, Tunisia appealed to that country to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan so that country could be spared the ravages it had been subjected to, including the creation of an enormous refugee problem and the setbacks it had sustained to its economic and social development.

ABDILLAHI SAID OSMAN (Somalia) said a super-Power persisted in its domination of the small and non-aligned Moslem country of Afghanistan. A political settlement was not in sight even while the brutality of the war continued to escalate. The Assembly should be concerned more than ever before, he said.

Afghanistan had given Islam some of its greatest philosophers and intellectuals. It was one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement and had followed a neutral policy since the nineteenth century. As an old and independent Islamic country, Afghanistan should not be allowed to lose its freedom and integrity. Seven years was too long to remain in subjugation, and a million casualties were too much to bear. He said that the spirit of jihad still existed in the Afghan resistance.

Withdrawal of troops should not be a guise for tactical reorganization. The super-Power concerned must prove that its proposals were aimed at

resolving the conflict. Above all, a political solution was required.

(END OF TAKE 14)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 15

SIRI FROST STERRI (Norway) said the Soviet military intervention into Afghanistan was a serious violation of the fundamental norms and principles governing relations among States. That occupation had brought widespread suffering to the Afghan people and disintegration of their society. About 4.5 million Afghans had fled to neighbouring Pakistan and Iran, and as many as two million might be displaced within Afghanistan itself. Human rights were clearly being violated. That situation must not be allowed to continue.

The core of the problem, she said, was the unwillingness of the invaders to address seriously the question of a realistic timetable for a complete troop withdrawal. She reiterated her Government's strong appeal to the Soviet Union to terminate its occupation of Afghanistan. A complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was the necessary first step in the process of restoring the independence of Afghanistan and enabling the refugees to return home. A comprehensive settlement would have positive effects on other important international issues, in particular on East-West relations.

Norway was also concerned about the adverse impact the Soviet military invasion had had on the situation in the region. Armed incidents along the common border of Pakistan and Afghanistan had led to increased tension in the area. She strongly urged restraint in order to prevent further escalation of the conflict.

The right of Afghan refugees to be repatriated with safety and honour had been identified as an essential element of a settlement, she said. That could be made possible through the implementation of the other three main ingredients in the draft resolution before the Assembly: complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; restoration of an independent and non-aligned status for Afghanistan; and self-determination for the Afghan people. The draft resolution and the determined efforts by the Secretary-General merited the full support of the international community.

She expressed concern about the vulnerable position of Pakistan. Besides violations of its border and airspace, that country was host to the largest refugee population in the world today. The way in which Pakistan had handled the influx of 3.5 million refugees from Afghanistan deserved respect and support. Norway had over the last six years provided 230 million Norwegian kroner (\$31 million) in humanitarian assistance and was prepared to continue its assistance to the Afghan refugees.

(END OF TAKE 15)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY --- TAKE 16

BUI XUAN NHAT (Viet Nam) said the root cause for the prolonged tension around Afghanistan since April 1978 was the plot of the imperialist and reactionary forces to undermine the Afghan revolution. For certain people, confrontation was a national policy. They talked of a political solution and dialogue but were interested only in continued stalemate and confrontation, using the "Afghan question" as a pretext to justify the cold war and major military programmes. Their ally in the region relied on tension and turmoil to ask for sophisticated weapons such as F16 aircraft.

He went on to say they demanded the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan while at the same time doing everything to make that disengagement impossible. When the Soviet Union withdrew six regiments from Afghanistan their Secretary of Defence rejected it as mere substitution of troops.

He was pleased to note the significant achievements of the process of national reconciliation and development inside Afghanistan. The United Nations fully supported the practical proposals made by the Government of Afghanistan concerning talks with its neighbours on relevant issues and welcomed the return of six Soviet regiments of the Soviet contingent as an important demonstration of the political good will of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. The other parties should reciprocate promptly and appropriately, he stated.

Although the results of the proximity talks conducted by the Secretary-General's intermediary had been encouraging, his delegation hoped that procedural obstacles would be overcome. Progress depended on the political will and flexibility of the parties most directly concerned. The present debate in the General Assembly on the so-called "situation in Afghanistan" was a futile exercise serving only the political manoeuvres of certain countries. The draft before the Assembly would only encourage intransigence, he stated.

THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) said the last seven years of war and invasion had killed a million Afghans, mutilated or left starving another million and displaced 50 per cent of the population. Entire villages had been razed and brutal acts had been carried out against men, women and children. The grief and suffering sown by the occupiers of Afghanistan could be compared with those inflicted by the invaders of his own country.

He recalled that the Commission on Human Rights had condemned the numerous violations of the right to life in Afghanistan.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 17

Continuing, Mr. PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) said the Afghan resistance had conducted an heroic struggle and now controlled much of the countryside. The mujahidin were also active against the army of the Kabul regime in the cities, he added.

In the Soviet Union, a growing number of tombstones were etched with the epitaph, "fallen in the exercise of international duty", he said. A Soviet spokesman, he added, had confirmed that the occupying forces' losses were mounting. Soviet Muslim forces had sympathized with the mujahidin so they were not included in the expeditionary force in Afghanistan. The invaders were, without doubt, being increasingly bogged down.

Nevertheless, the occupiers had continued their scorched-earth policies in the search of a military solution. Not content with the activities within Afghanistan, the occupiers had also carried out action against Pakistan. Talk of negotiation had been used to mask further consolidation of the occupation. The announcement of withdrawal of six Soviet regiments was nothing but a manoeuvre reminiscent of the partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, which had in fact been a mere rotation of troops.

In the absence of movement towards a true political settlement, the Afghan people would have no choice but to continue their struggle and Pakistan would also have to continue to protect its sovereignty.

BASHKIM R. PITARKA (Albania) said that the tragedy of Afghanistan had shown that the aggressive policy of the two super-Powers brought grave consequences to the freedom and independence of peoples. The "barbarous aggression" of the Soviet Union had caused incalculable damage and suffering to the Afghan people and created a serious threat to peace in the neighbouring region.

The Soviet occupation in Afghanistan gave clear evidence to the rapacious ambitions and expansionist aims of Soviet social imperialism not only in Afghanistan but throughout that important strategic region. Although the two super-Powers declared that they had discussions on regional problems, it was clear that nothing good came from the super-Powers' deals for the Afghan people.

He said the Soviet aggressors felt increasingly unsafe in Afghanistan because Afghan patriots were inflicting considerable damage and discrediting them in the eyes of international public opinion. The continued international condemnation as well as present international circumstances had forced Moscow to use new tactics: the so-called national reconciliation in Afghanistan; the "settlement" of the problem through talks; and the withdrawal of a symbolic contingent of troops.

For the people of Afghanistan, the only solution to their problem was to drive the Soviet troops out of their territory. The establishment of their freedom and independence could be achieved only through armed struggle against foreign invaders and their stooges.

(END OF TAKE 17)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 18

JAROSLAV CESAR (Czechoslovakia) said the current debate was an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and would lead to an exacerbation of the tensions in the area. He said that eight years ago, the Afghan people had completed their democratic anti-feudal revolution, which had achieved social progress, including an agrarian reform, freedom of religion and the improvement of health and educational services.

In addition, he said, the Government had moved to bring about national reconciliation and had invited those Afghan forces outside the country to participate in the process. But the terrorist acts against the revolutionary Government continued, he said. Such acts would be impossible without support from imperialist forces, particularly American forces. Although the Assembly had condemned terrorism, certain States supported terrorism against Afghanistan. The United States maintained that the Persian Gulf was a sphere of their vital interest and had special camps where they trained terrorists.

A political settlement could be achieved if it established respect for the rights of the concerned parties, brought an end to armed interference in Afghanistan and created conditions to prevent such interference in the future. It should also provide for the free return of refugees.

He said goodwill was reflected in the Soviet decision to withdraw six regiments. He hoped that there would be a positive response to that move. He said that despite the undeclared war against Afghanistan, the policies of the Government enjoyed the support of a growing majority of the population.

The draft resolution, he said finally, would not contribute to a political settlement of the situation.

(END OF TAKE 18)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 19

EDMONDE DEVER (Belgium) said one of the most painful examples of current conflicts was the situation in Afghanistan. She recalled that last year the Assembly had called for a withdrawal of foreign forces from that country. However, the occupation had continued.

The heroic resistance of the Afghan people reflected its rejection of Soviet occupation. Approximately a third of the country's population had fled from a pitiless occupation and were leading a precarious existence in neighbouring countries. She expressed appreciation to Pakistan and the humanitarian organizations for the assistance provided to refugees.

The United Nations Special Rapporteur had listed large-scale violations of human rights in Afghanistan, she said. The people of Afghanistan must be allowed to decide on their own future. There was no military solution. Only a political settlement was possible, one that took account of the security concerns of all parties. She hoped that the establishment of a time-frame for a speedy withdrawal of Soviet troops would forward the process. Time could not legalize the occupation in Afghanistan, she stated.

MASSAMBA SARRE (Senegal) said that his Government's position on the Afghan problem was based on respect for a cardinal principle of international relations, and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity and the political independence of States. Senegal also supported the right of all people to freely choose their own form of Government without external intervention.

He regretted that although the Secretary-General's efforts had achieved some positive results, they were as yet insufficient. The withdrawal of foreign troops would further facilitate a return to peace in the area, he said. Meanwhile, the dynamic of the negotiations must be maintained at any price in order to overcome the present impasse. As a co-sponsor of the draft resolution, Senegal appealed for its adoption by the Assembly.

(END OF TAKE 19)

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 20

DAVID McDOWELL (New Zealand) said the situation in Afghanistan continued to represent an affront to the principles enshrined in the Charter and an obstacle to stability in the region. Over the past seven years, Soviet armed forces had been attempting to suppress the popular resistance. New Zealand had been shocked by the human suffering created in Afghanistan and by the apparent Soviet indifference to the heavy toll in death and destruction imposed on the Afghan people.

The clear breach of the principle of non-use of force in international relations could not be tolerated, he said. The situation in Afghanistan could never become more tolerable with the passage of time.

The fierce Afghan resistance to the occupying military forces should have brought home to the Soviet Union that it would not achieve its objectives through a military victory. He was not sure that there was such a realization. The Soviet Union had an opportunity to show by its deeds that it was committed to creating a climate conducive to the lowering of international tensions.

In the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, he detected some encouraging signs. He was concerned, however, that the Secretary-General had reported that a wide gap still existed between the designated guarantors of any settlement on the crucial question of the time-frame and modalities for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. An acceptable solution must be found. Although the Soviet Union had announced the withdrawal of six regiments, the fact remained that for the moment a very substantial army of occupation remained.

EUGENIUSZ NOWORYTA (Poland) said that since the overthrow of the feudal regime in Afghanistan and the opening of the process of progressive socio-economic transformations, Afghanistan had become the object of destructive activities inside the country supported and financed from abroad. Although those activities and covert operations were meant to undermine the Government of Afghanistan, there had been substantial progress in the process of national reconciliation as evidenced by the widening of the social base of the national democratic revolution and the work on a new democratic constitution.

The Government of Afghanistan had extended an invitation to representatives of political forces outside the country to come back and to engage in political activities with a view to participating in the process of reconstruction of a new Afghanistan, he said. The situation created around Afghanistan could only be resolved politically. Direct talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan would be of particular significance for achieving a speedy political solution.

Poland commended the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative towards achieving a political solution. It shared the Secretary-General's opinion that mutual confidence and political will were essential to the conclusion of a settlement. In that context, the Soviet announcement of the partial withdrawal of troops should promote a propitious political climate around the Afghan-Pakistani talks in progress in Geneva. That process should be matched by the curtailment of outside interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, he said.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 21

MIKLOS ENDREFFY (Hungary) said the Assembly's consideration of the present item amounted to interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and therefore violated the Charter.

It was the ongoing outside intervention against Afghanistan that threatened the security of the region, he stated. The people and Government of Afghanistan had achieved great successes in the economic, social and political fields despite the difficulties and hardships created by the foreign-supported counter-revolutionaries.

The efforts of the Secretary-General represented the only active mechanism for promoting a political solution, he said. An impasse in those negotiations was broken last May, and the consideration of an instrument of interrelationships was now possible. Although a wide gap still existed between the position of the two parties, there had been substantial progress.

The recent withdrawal of six Soviet regiments was a gesture of good will on the part of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. He hoped the other interested parties would now adopt a serious attitude in the search for a negotiated settlement. His delegation believed the draft resolution before the Assembly would hinder the negotiating process, and would therefore vote against it.

KITHONG VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that, unfortunately, once again the Assembly was engaged in a sterile exercise. The international community knew exactly what was going on in Afghanistan. The revolutionary Government had brought an era of peace and justice to the country, instituting reforms in the political, economic and social fields. The various ethnic and tribal groups were united in the struggle to defend their homeland against counter-revolutionaries.

He noted that a draft constitution would soon be submitted to the revolutionary council. The entire population would be called upon to vote on the constitutional draft.

He expressed admiration and sympathy for the Afghan people, and said its critics had an inordinate fear of progress.

He said the presence in the country of Soviet soldiers was entirely in keeping with the treaty of friendship between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The root of the problem, he added, was the undeclared war against the Afghan people. Unfortunately, he said, the two neighbouring countries had refused to engage in direct talks with the Afghan Government.

He commended the good will of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, as shown in the decision to withdraw six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan. He said the best way to solve the problem was through direct negotiations involving all interested parties. The repatriation of refugees should take place under conditions that did not prejudice the peace and security of the Government of Afghanistan. The forces of imperialism and reaction should cease to finance the undeclared war against an independent and sovereign State. Such acts constituted State terrorism and flagrantly violated the principles of the Charter and international law. He said the draft resolution did not contain positive elements that could contribute to a just and lasting solution and did not pay attention to the legitimate interests of the Afghan people.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 22

ALBERTO VELAZCO SAN JOSE (Cuba) said his country supported the search for a negotiated solution based on a strict respect for the sovereignty of Afghanistan. However, no solution could be based on surrender of revolutionary gains and on the return of the Afghan people to servitude. That would be attempting to reverse the course of history. Before the revolution, Afghanistan had the highest infant mortality rates and a very unjust distribution of wealth. The people of the country were subjugated to feudalism, poverty and underdevelopment.

From the very beginning, the forces of reaction, and United States imperialism in particular, had tried to undermine and denigrate the revolution. Murder and sabotage had cost the lives of many and destroyed much property.

By contrast, the Afghan Government had continued to work for national reconciliation. He welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General for the formulation of a general solution to the problem.

Exercising the right of reply, MOHAMMAD FARID ZARIF (Afghanistan) said there had been a number of inaccuracies in the statement by the Pakistani Foreign Minister this morning and he would like to point out some of them.

United Nations documents categorically rejected the allegations that there were four or five million Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Research had shown the double or triple registration of refugees. There was also embezzlement and fraud by Pakistani authorities and those in charge of the camps.

It was not Pakistan's territory that was being violated, he said. In fact, it was Afghanistan's territory and air space that had been arrogantly violated by Pakistan's armed forces and by the forces supported by Pakistan. Incontrovertible evidence had emerged that the bandits and mercenaries were mere lackeys armed and organized by outside forces. He then quoted from Western newspapers which were "obviously anti-Afghan", whose reports proved his point, he said. The Christian Science Monitor, for example, had reported that Pakistan had been a key conduit for supplying the mujahidin. The Manchester Guardian Weekly had said that the Americans were fuelling the guerilla war as never before. The Washington Post had reported that the United States support for the guerilla forces had risen steadily.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- TAKE 23

RAZI MOHAMMED KHAN (Pakistan) said that the Assembly had heard a repetition of baseless allegations. The position of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and other international organizations provided a resounding refutation of what the Assembly had just heard.

Those who defied the logic of the resolutions of those organizations found themselves in a narrow minority.

If Pakistan had committed an aggression, he said, why did the Afghans find a safe haven in Pakistan? Refugees did not look for shelter in the territory of the invader.

The Afghan people were struggling to defend the freedom that had been lost in the occupation of their land. He said misleading propaganda could never cover up the reality of the situation. There were five million refugees in Pakistan and Iran. The three million in Pakistan were registered and records kept by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Violations of the territory and air space of Pakistan had been recorded and records sent to the Secretary-General, he went on.

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan) said he would continue to quote from The Washington Post report which proved that there was foreign interference in the internal affairs of his country. The report dealt with arms supply operations to the tribal territories through a CIA pipeline, he said. He added that Pakistan had been generously allowing other forces to use its territory as a conduit for arms. For its part, Afghanistan could not disarm. Afghanistan was earnestly working towards a political solution.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan) said that quoting from a fanciful report did not refute the facts: Afghanistan remained under military occupation. Even if the independent Afghan movement did receive arms from abroad there was no dearth of outside arms in Afghanistan. The country was suffering under a massive military intervention.

He said that the intervention in Afghanistan was leading to genocide and one third of the people had left the country. The best guarantee for peace could be found in Assembly resolutions which called for the withdrawal of foreign troops. An acceptable, short time-frame was required to put an end to foreign intervention and to allow the people of Afghanistan to return home.

The meeting was adjourned at 8:55 p.m.